4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 122). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 148). Ovalle (1888, 12:161) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brouwer, 1892, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (rena) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:306–7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50, 52.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. colû; cf. Medina, 1882, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 15).

Bodily adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in peace time, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 439, 445), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Headmen formerly wore large silver earrings.

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of llancas (llaŋka), tupu pins, bracelets, and ear pendants. The llancas were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the llancas. The tupu (from *Quechua*) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

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842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 ●304] 861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[276] [881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762 764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap." 846

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all. [854]

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back." [304]

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward [142]

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in an herbal decoction. Now knowing its ingredients she gave her babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared." 846

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One piercing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have their ears pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful."

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs. [301]

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304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

●304 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [184] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 60.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap dəyũ [flat-nosed];[6] the Argentines call them chatos."

[6] All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years.

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver around."

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implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and mudai (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awür kuden or awür meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as perumtun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today. It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in the pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.